1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

On the whole, judging from what was learned of Matauvave's duties, it would seem better to regard him as a sort of steward or director of works for the Tui Tonga rather than a true governor or viceroy.

THE LIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The residence of the Tui Tonga was called, apparently metaphorically, Olotele—a name which occurs outside of Tonga (Olotele, a mountain in Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaii). The word Olotele embraces more than the house and house-mound of the Tui Tonga, for it was interpreted also as *malae* or green of the Tui Tonga. Various localities called Holeva are said to have been places where the Tui Tonga resided, the name being used like Pangai for the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The earliest Tui Tonga had their capital in central Tongatabu, the tenth and eleventh Tui Tonga at Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu. With the twelfth king the capital was transferred to Lapaha on the eastern shore of the great lagoon of Tongatabu. Lapaha and the adjoining village of Tatakamotonga are spoken of as Mua (First) in reference to their constituting the capital. The actual place at Lapaha at which the Tui Tonga "reigned, *afiu*," or presided ceremonially, was called Ahofakasiu.

Portable houses (*falefata*) were erected for the Tui Tonga at places where he might wish to sojourn. These consisted of the various sections of such parts as the roof, sides, and posts, so prepared that they could be readily put together in a day. When the Tui Tonga's daughter became sick, she was moved into a new house, built specially for the emergency, and called, *faletolia* (*tolia*, satisfied in mind). Another name given to this house was *falevakaipuluhi* (*fale*, house; *vakai*, to take care, vigilant; *puluhi*, sickness, referring only to the Tui Tonga and his immediate blood kin).

The earliest Tongan mention of a Tui Tonga away from his home island of Tongatabu is that of Momo, the tenth ruler, whose visit to Eueiki Island, nearby, is described (26, pp. 71-75). Tuitatui, his son, is also pictured as fraternizing with his boatmen off the shores of Eueiki. Later he dies on Eua Island (op. cit. pp. 45-47).

Talakaifaiki (Samoan Tala'aifei'i) resided part of the time in Samoa where there were dwellings constructed for him on both Upolu and Savaii. He was the last Tui Tonga to reside in Samoa, for he and his officers and troops were expelled by the Samoans under Tuna and Fata. The Tui Tonga before him may have also resided in Samoa (36, vol. 1, p. 468).

Tatafueikimeimua made at least one visit to Samoa in seeking the hand of a beautiful woman (26, pp. 55-60). Kauulufonua I, the next king known to have travelled, is reputed to have waged war throughout the Tongan domains, in Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji, and to have sent governors to various parts of the Tongan kingdom including Uvea. The Tui Tonga

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER XII.

Finow's younger daughter falls sick—Petitions to the gods—Farther account of the mode of invocation—Finow's illness—Debate among the gods respecting Finow—This debate causes thunder and lightning—Supposed effect of Finow's illness and recovery on his daughter—His daughter conveyed to the island of Ofoo—Her death—Ceremony of her burial—Strange custom of the people of Hamoa—Finow's illness—Petitions to the gods—Strangulation of a child in the way of sacrifice—Finow's death—Political state of the Tonga islands, occasioned by this event—Grief of Finow's daughter—Mr. Mariner rebuked by the prince for his grief at Finow's death—Suspicious conduct of Vooma—Consultation of the god Toobo Toty—Report of what had been Finow's intentions previous to his death—The prince consults with his uncle on matters of political government relative to his succession.

SHORTLY after Toobó Malóhi and his followers had departed for the Hapai islands, Finow's younger daughter, named *Sáw-aw mái Lolángi* (which, in the Hamoa language, means descended from the sky), about six or seven years of age, fell sick; on which occasion she was removed from her father's house to another inside a fencing, consecrated to Tali-y-Toobo, the patron god of the *Haws*. Almost every morning a hog was killed, dressed, and pre-

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gather-

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9

is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, 755
carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the 757
shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be [783]
left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of
healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and 759
some virtue resides in themselves. It would be useless, if not
dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be
effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do 755
not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks 757
and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base [278]
is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun
shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the
middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings, some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body [753]
are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the
patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the 758
Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the
sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing
something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his
stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European,
though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing
is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to [844]
have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old [759]
midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, 752
is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the
boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sick-
ness. So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer
theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had
herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that 753
is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in 858
593
602

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9

753 vain, it is remembering. The cure is what parental affection
858 naturally prompts. The absent father, or mother, or whoever it is
593 that is remembered, is communicated with, and never fails, if it is at
602 all possible, to hasten to the side of the little sufferer, and the cure
755 is wrought. Although Tongan medical practice is vitiated by the
757 inability to diagnose correctly, it would be unfair to suggest that
many valuable remedies have not been found amongst the native
[307] plants. Ageing beauty, by the way, has found the secret of restoring
[758] a glossy blackness to greying locks. Nor would it be fair to refuse
to admit the skill with which some things, once they are recognised,
are treated, and it would be ungrateful for one who has lived long
amongst this affectionate people to forget the tender care they lavish
on the sick foreigner, as well as on those of their own race.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Grandparents and Grandchildren

602 603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren. 784 The latter may touch the head of the former and eat the balance of their [264] food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an out- 784 standing feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred 602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each [291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they [513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the [516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not [521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a [764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase. [264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used. [516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They [195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must [521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversa- [585] tion about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and [764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may [535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*. [276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When [574] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may [758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting, one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the [816] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*, [601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602 604 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to 784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They [276] may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a [764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but [601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

> and accustomed to this plague, or pest of mankind, in these parts, either does not feel them, or is so unconcerned that he walks about as indifferent as though little or nothing ailed him.

Afflicted with their traditional ailments, as well as the newly introduced ones, and lacking knowledge of either their causes or cures, the Tongans attributed these misfortunes to the anger of the gods or the displeasure of the spirits of deceased kin. Accordingly, they believed that there was a direct connection between the efficacy of medicine and the power and truth of the god, whether the medicine was that provided by the missionary or by the heathen priest.

Fortunately for the cause of the mission, the missionaries at Nuku'alofa were more successful in combating disease than John Thomas had been at Hihifo. Nathaniel Turner wrote of their experience in this regard:

> I must just observe in this place that our success in this respect has been the means of bringing many over to our cause from different parts of the Island. When a cure has been wrought, the individual has gone home to his friends, and they all beholding what has been done for him, the whole family, and, in some instances, families have come over to live at Nuku'alofa, and attend to religious instruction. (N. Turner to Committee, 6 May 1831, WMMS 1818-36, item A2832)

The importance of this aspect of the missionaries' work soon became apparent, and consequently dispensary hours had become part of their regular activities.

The missionaries' goods—articles of trade—were highly prized by the Tongan people, and these also helped to turn the interest of the people towards the missionaries and their work. 'If I had good trade', wrote John Thomas, 'it would not only be a saving of time, but tend to produce a good feeling upon the minds of the natives towards us and the good cause' (Thomas, Journal, 2 June 1826). Even John Thomas's dwelling house was something of great wonder to the people. It was the first European house built in Tonga, having two storeys with various apartments, with panel doors in front, and glass windows, and was something which they had never seen before. These things captured their imagination and became the chief topics of conversation not only

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

were told that they had souls after all, and like the chiefs they had every right to life after death. Their enthusiasm may be illustrated by the testimony of Ilaiakimi Tāufa recorded by the Reverend R. Young (1854:246) during his visit to Tonga in 1853:

> When the Gospel reached Tonga I heard, and was convinced of its truth, but not saved. I was converted at the great revival here. In reading the book of the Prophet Isaiah, I was powerfully impressed . . . one night it appeared to me as though a light shone within, and brought to my view my many sins . . . I saw that Christ alone could save, and that nothing else was sufficient for me. The Lord saved me: when I felt an immediate desire to praise him, and to show others the way to that good which I had obtained.

Many became very devout and sincere, and some were even prepared to give up everything they had for their faith.

It was reported that during an eruption at Niua Fo'ou friends offered to take away the native missionary, Semisi Fonua, who was looking after the work on the island, but he resolved to remain with his flock, even if he should perish with them. 'I did not come here to live only,' he replied, 'but [if necessary] to die. Just so, I am not [so much] afraid of this burning as I am afraid of meeting Jehovah in the end of time. Therefore I shall remain' (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:67). Such was the spirit and devotion of many of the Tongan converts who became a tremendous asset to the mission work.

The medical part of the missionaries' work continued to assume greater importance. It increasingly attracted people to the Society, who would not have gone a mile to hear a sermon, but who travelled many miles for a dose of medicine. Accordingly, dispensary hours became part of the regular routine. Some missionaries spent two hours every morning on clinical work. The success of the missionaries' medicine dealt a fatal blow to heathenism, for while it was more difficult for the Tongans to comprehend many of the abstract principles of Christianity, they could easily see the beneficial effects of medicine, especially when diseases were so prevalent and the death rate was so high. Many renounced their gods and still more began to doubt their long-established traditional beliefs.

In spite of the urgency placed on the translation of the Bible,

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

the grounds of personal conviction but for reasons of loyalty to, or fear of, powerful King George and his Christian followers. They met in classes and performed religious obligations largely because the King wanted them to do as he and his supporters did. For a time, the emotional fervour of the religious revivals, which spread with such intensity in the second half of the 1830s and also in the 1840s, affected even these nominal Christians, so that scarcely anyone remained untouched by revivalism in one way or another. But the effects were not lasting, and gradually the excitement and enthusiasm wore off, particularly amongst the chiefs. Some began to realise that they had a heavy price to pay for their conversion, for they were required to surrender many of the privileges which for centuries had been regarded as the exclusive birthright of their socio-political class. They began to wonder if they had made a sound choice, and some began to react against the missionaries.

Some of the novelty attached to the work of the missionaries had worn off. Literacy, early the prerogative of the missionaries, had become common to most Tongans by the latter half of the 1850s, when many could read and write and teach others to do the same. Nor were the operations of the printing press any longer regarded with awe and wonder, and its exciting effect upon the minds of the people was fast disappearing.

The monopoly of the Wesleyan missionaries in the use of medicine, which for two decades had won them admiration, affection and respect, was now seriously challenged by the Roman Catholic mission. Owing to the great demand for medicine and its short supply, since the Committee provided an insufficient amount, the Wesleyan missionaries were forced to buy extra supplies of medicine and also to charge a small fee for its distribution. The Roman Catholic priests had meanwhile decided to distribute their medicine free among their members.

John Thomas (Journal, 6 May 1856) wrote:

> The priests, it seems spare no pains in order to make converts, or rather to prevent the people from the right way of the Lord. In case of anyone taking medicine from them that is understood to be a sign of their turning—and some one is sent at once to perform worship in the house, and thus introduce popery into that family. And then,

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

> while we require a small remuneration for our medicine—they give it, and give it at any time. But we had to fix a time to give it, and to require our people to come at that time—or go back, in some cases, without it, as we have other duty to attend to, besides preparing and serving out medicine.

The missionaries' monopoly of trade, because of their possession of ample supplies of articles for barter, was similarly affected. The challenge this time came not only from the Roman Catholic priests but also from traders who had by now established themselves in the various islands of Tonga.

The absence of respectable settlers in the islands before the fifties had made it inevitable that King George and his chiefs relied almost completely on the missionaries for advice concerning the previous two Codes of Laws and also Tonga's foreign relations. However, this situation was altered by the presence of other European settlers in Tonga, from the mid-fifties onwards, who seriously challenged the missionaries' role as unofficial political advisers.

Another factor threatening to undermine both the prestige and popularity of the missionaries was the pride of the chiefs. Conscious of the fact that the chiefs had been their protégés in religious and educational matters, the missionaries tended at times to adopt a patronising attitude which the chiefs resented. One missionary wrote:

> The missionaries or some of them are not one with the King and the chiefs. The old missionaries know what they were, remember how they have taught them and that all they are they owe to them; on the other hand, the chiefs are beginning to be ashamed of being reminded what they were, and wish people to remember what they are—and are only—this is certainly one cause, that the missionaries are at a distance with the King or rather he with them . . . . (Baker to Eggleston, 21 April 1863, Baker 1860-79)

All these things contributed in one way or another to the gradual decline of the prestige of the missionaries in the eyes of the chiefs and helped to widen the gulf between them. Even King George, himself the hero and protector of the Wesleyan cause, was no exception.

/40 cont./

744 657 759 743 177

instruments which are nontheless still used. The dispenser working there often forgets his stethoscope when he makes house calls (he keeps it hanging in the open window in the rain); he often makes a diagnosis without touching the patients, and as medicine he dispenses mainly two kinds of tablets; the quarterly health inspection entrusted to him (dwellings, water supply, latrines) on the four islands in his charge he fails to carry out even annually, and then only very superficially.

744 657 563 177 [752] The few whites working in Tonga can naturally not take the drastic action they would in a colony, though they make a successful effort to keep "the machinery running." There are, however, several examples of surgical operations quite skilfully carried out by Tongan physicians, and in general this European system of health service has undoubtedly brought about many an improvement for the natives.

744 164 177 514 One achievement of the modern health service is the repression of the hookworm disease which formerly occurred rather frequently. It was combatted by the Tongan government with aid from a Rockefeller grant; around 1930, cement latrines were widely introduced. Today most Tongan families (88)

88. The author's count in 'Uiha/'Uiha and Fungamisis/Vava'u in 1952 showed, for example, that of 100 households (45 respectively) 83 (40 respectively) have cement latrines.

have such latrines which they /41/ can buy at a very low price from the government and "finish" as they wish.

744 164 [758] The fight against tuberculosis, however, is still very much in its beginnings. It is altogether unclear how many natives are afflicted with this disease; the simple mass examinations in the schools have not been able to give a reliable picture. The wherewithal is apparently lacking for combating it on a large scale. On the smaller islands of the

/41 cont./

744 164 758 group the severe cases are usually isolated; huts are built for them outside the village on the beach, relatives drop food there, and after a few years these tubercular patients die.

744 312 Though the systematic teaching of hygiene in all schools has even been able to intensify the ancient Polynesian feeling for cleanliness, it has not yet gone so far as to teach the natives to be more careful about how they obtain their drinking water. With the 312 exception of 'Eua, the entire Archipelago has no running water; the wells dug by the Tongans often contain brackish water, and people are generally dependent on the rain water they collect. Today this mostly runs into self-built cement tanks (also into old drums and tin containers) from the corrugated iron roofs; (89)

89. Occasionally one also sees palm branches nailed perpendicularly to the coconut trunks, with a collecting vessel placed underneath.

the larger cement tanks of the government found in all villages are often a valuable asset in times of drought. However, since most of the tanks never become completely empty (90)

90. A puddle almost always remains even in periods of drought; in one auxiliary hospital the author was informed that the tank there "has never been quite empty since 1914."

and are usually inadequately covered or entirely open, (91)

91. Numerous mosquito larvae as a rule cling to the surface of the water.

the drinking water, which is almost always drunk unboiled, is never altogether clean. On Nomuka people even use the unboiled, muddy brown water of a small pond in which pigs wallow, for making the [164] kawa drink. The number of illnesses resulting from these conditions seems, however, to be astonishingly small.